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der in Rom lebte, gehört haben. Der Lehrsatz wird demnach in ursprünglicher Fassung gelaute haben: **ר' מתיא בן חרש אומר מי שישנו כלב שומה מאכילין אותו מחצר כבוד שלו וחכמים אוסרים**. Da die Majorität nicht zustimmte, wurde mit dem Verbot begonnen und die Ansicht des Urhebers des Lehrsatzes hinterdrein gebracht.

LUDWIG BLAU.

### JUDAH MESSER LEON ON THE "VETUS LOGICA".

*Judah Messer Leon's Commentary on the "Vetus Logica."* A study based on three MSS. by Dr. Isaac Husik. (E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1906.)

THIS book is the forerunner of a larger work, for the author promises to give us an edition of the MSS. on which he has written this study. It contains a general introduction to Messer Leon's writings, an account of the Logical commentary, a summary of its more striking features, a searching inquiry into his sources, and—what to general students is perhaps the most useful part of the book—a glossary of Hebrew logical terms. We could have wished this last to be a little fuller: as it is, it does not contain nearly all the words which occur in the quoted passages, and we hope that in the complete edition of the *Vetus Logica* it will be considerably enlarged. Messer Leon seems to have succeeded in building up, largely from Hebrew words, an expressive and accurate terminology, although to a purist his language is as strange a jargon as the Latin of the mediaeval documents.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Jews were the great intermediaries of culture between Asia and Europe, and it was they who kept alive the study of Aristotle. Their acquaintance with the Greek philosopher was through the medium of Arabic translations, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries more especially through the commentaries of Averroes. Messer Leon of Mantua, the subject of the present work, is one of the last representatives of Averroism, and though he contributed nothing original to the study of logic, he is interesting because he was the first to introduce to Jewish students the Latin translations of Aristotle as a check upon the Arabic commentaries, and he was thus able to clear up several errors in the current interpretation. Original thought at that period was considered as anything but a merit: it was impudent audacity, and in his commentary Leon attacks "The wise man in his own eyes"—

whom Dr. Husik shows conclusively to be Gersonides—for having the hardihood to think for himself, and think differently from men so much greater than himself. Scholasticism has been defined as the reproduction of ancient philosophy under the control of ecclesiastical doctrine, and in the scholastic age writers on logic never aspired to add anything themselves to the science, but were content to interpret the writings of the classical masters, or to compose commentaries on them, and then supercommentaries on their commentaries, interpretations of the supercommentaries, and criticisms of these interpretations. The Jews treated Aristotle in matters of science and method much as they treated the Bible in matters of religion and philosophy, but while they could go to the text of the Bible direct, they only had contact with Aristotle at second and even at third hand. Hence it is vain to expect anything of permanent value in such a commentary as Messer Leon's. Its author indeed would not have raised such a claim for his work. By his knowledge of Latin he is able to correct Averroes on a few points of detail, and for the rest he gives clear accounts of the regular mediaeval controversies.

Notably, on the barren problems of Nominalism and Realism he writes a very lucid summary of the views of different schools, and his own conclusion shows clear thought, and is not unworthy of comparison with the ideas of later-day Platonists. "The universal" he holds "is outside of the mind, but not separate in its existence from the individuals." But except as a mental discipline and an exercise in writing Hebrew the logical studies of fifteenth-century Jewish thinkers have little value. They have become an end instead of a means: they do not lead, as they should, to independent thinking on scientific or philosophical subjects. Maimonides, by the aid of Aristotelean logic, had built up a great system of religious philosophy, but his successors, though they mastered the pieces of the machinery as thoroughly, could not make the machinery do any work. We see Leon turning logic upon itself: dividing his science up into its four causes, and deciding, e.g. that its material cause is the "secondary concepts" joined to the primary. He does not add anything of his own to the study. Dr. Husik argues—and, as we think, clearly proves—that where his author departs from the Averroistic tradition he is only following another authority, Walter Burleigh, and he translates whole passages from his *Supra Artem Veterem Expositio*. He does not actually confess his obligations, perhaps because Burleigh was an unknown name in the Jewish community, and it would have been futile to mention it. On the other hand, he never claims any originality. His ambition and his achievement was "to place the study of the Logic among his co-religionists

on a more exact basis than the Hebrew translations of Averroes' middle commentaries afforded before his time."

Messer Leon is an interesting figure historically, for he is almost the last of the mediaeval Jewish commentators on Aristotle. In the fifteenth century Europe stood on the threshold of a new era. The Renaissance was already dawning in Italy, which was Leon's country, and the human intellect was already in his day beginning to enfranchise itself: it was no longer to be the slave of formulae or of authorities. The despotism over mind was broken at the same time as the despotism over conscience, but Jewish thinkers, though they had done much to prepare the way for freedom and for enlightenment, were not to take part in the actual triumph of liberty. For the bright age in the general world was a dark age to the Jew. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, until the coming of Moses Mendelssohn, philosophical studies were neglected, and Jews were cut off from the general culture of the world. In Spinoza, indeed, the philosophical genius of the race flashed up with unparalleled brightness, but he was without and not within the community. But in the fifteenth century the Jews were still in the forefront of science and culture, and in a writer like Messer Leon we see a man who is master not only of Hebrew learning, but of all which his age had to teach. Besides this *Logic* he wrote a Hebrew grammar, a rhetoric, commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*, *Analytics*, and *Ethics*, a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, *Prayers* and *Hymns* and *Sermons*. It is a most interesting catalogue, and it would be a great service if Dr. Husik would write an account and an appreciation of his complete works.

His was not a master mind like Maimonides', but he is of interest, because he represents the typical Jewish sage of his time.

Dr. Husik's study shows on every page careful scholarship, and we have noticed only a few details to which objection can be taken. "Perihermenias" (on p. 20 and elsewhere) is a very ugly transcription of *περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*—the treatise of Aristotle commonly known as *De Interpretatione*; but perhaps in America it is considered correct enough. The account (on p. 39) of Aristotle's fourfold classification of things in the second chapter of the *Categories* is slightly confused. For particular and general substance, and particular and general accident it would be clearer to substitute first substance, second substance, accident, and property. Dr. Husik's sentences, too, occasionally become rather cumbrous, and his meaning would be clearer if he split them up. And his language is a little slovenly. "À propos of the *δευτέρα οὐσία* of Aristotle" is hardly an elegant phrase. But these are obviously very minor points, and do not appreciably

detract from the merit of a very scholarly piece of work. It is one of the ripples started by the stone of learning which the Nestor of Jewish studies, Dr. Steinschneider, cast into the sea of the Middle Ages.

NORMAN BENTWICH.

### DR. HIRSCHFELD'S TRANSLATION OF THE *KHAZARI*.

*Judah Hallevi's Kitab al Khazari*, translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction by HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D. [London, George Routledge & Sons, 1905. Pp. 313.]

TWENTY-ONE years have elapsed since Dr. Hirschfeld translated Judah Hallevi's *Kitab al Khazari* into German, and the learned translator could scarcely have celebrated its coming of age more appropriately than by issuing this English version. Dr. Hirschfeld has also edited the text of the Arabic original, and Judah b. Tabbon's Hebrew version. What better qualifications could one desire, or what better guarantee of accuracy? Dr. Hirschfeld has also more than enough enthusiasm for the book and its author to ensure that sympathetic attitude which is so indispensable in a translator. In some respects one is inclined to complain that Dr. Hirschfeld has too much admiration for the *Kitab al Khazari*, and rates it above its merits. Still, such an attitude, though it may diminish the value of the Introduction, can only help to ensure a reliable rendering of the text. The Introduction has its good points too, and the Notes and Indices are very helpful. Altogether this is a welcome addition to our all too few English translations of Jewish classics.

The anti-philosophical tone of the Introduction betrays the undue influence of Hallevi. It may be that Dr. Hirschfeld only intended to voice Hallevi's feelings. In any case the statement that "the Jewish religion is, by its nature, opposed to philosophic pursuits," is a generalization as unwarranted as it is sweeping. Hebrew genius, it is true, is mostly synthetical rather than analytical, intuitive rather than discursive, and therefore poetical rather than scientific, and religious rather than philosophical. But these antitheses are by no means really hostile or incompatible opposites: the great scientist or philosopher needs the gifts of intuition and constructive imagination as well as the power of analysis and critical acumen; and the true poet or seer needs the power of analysis and critical acumen as well as the gift of intuition and the constructive imagination